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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

EURE-00 SAB-01 AID-20 CEA-02 COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02

CIEP-02 STR-08 TRSE-00 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 AF-10

SR-02 ORM-03 DRC-01 /182 W
---------- 068160
O R 211044Z DEC 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1065
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 10488 IMMEDIATE

GENEVA FOR MR. BASSIN

EO: 11652: GDS
TAGS: OCON PFOR
SUBJ: KRIESKY CRITICISM OF EC-9 POSTURE AND THOUGHTS ON MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM

SUMMARY: DURING INFORMAL CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE IN VIENNA FOR LECTURE AT DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY, CHANCELLOR KREISKY STRONGLY CONDEMNED RECENT TERRORIST ATROCITY; CONTEMPTUOUSLY REFERRED TO EC-9 AS "MINI-UN"; CRITICIZED FRANCE FOR REVIVING UNREALISTIC GUALLIST POLITY OF UNITING EUROPE SEPARATE FROM U.S.; COMMENTED ON ISRAELI GHETTO MENTALITY AND OUTLINED HIS THOUGHTS ON ISRAELI-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS IN THE LONG TERM, INCLUDING
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A SUGGESTION THAT A VATICAN SOLUTION BE FOUND FOR THE JERUSALEM

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PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

1. AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE WAS RECENTLY IN VIENNA TO GIVE A LECTURE AT THE DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY AND TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY OF PAYING PERSONAL CALL ON CHANCELLOR KREISKY TO RENEW AN OLD ACQUAINTANCESHIP. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE VIENNA CHARGE. AFTER THE USUAL AMENITIES AND REMINISCENCES OVER THEIR LAST MEETING IN KANSAS CITY SOME YEARS AGO, KREISKY AND AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE ENGAGED IN 45-MINUTE DISCUSSION. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS AS CLEARED WITH THE AMBASSADOR IN BRUSSELS.

2. KREISKY OPENED DISCUSSION WITH STRONG CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM IN GENERAL AND THE RECENT "PANAM/LUFTHANSA" ATROCITY IN PARTICULAR. HIS THESIS WAS THAT TERRORISM WILL CONTINUE AS LONG AS THE TERRORISTS CAN OBTAIN FINANCING FROM ARAB COUNTRIES, AND THE ONLY WAY TO STOP THIS WOULD BE FOR THE WEST TO PRESENT UNITED FRONT AND RETALIATE BY A TOTAL SHIP AND AIR TRAFFIC BOYCOTT OF ALL ARAB STATES. KREISKY BELIEVED THE ARABS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RESIST MORE THAN TWO WEEKS UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS AND WOULD BE COMPELLED TO COME TO TERMS.

3. KREISKY EXPRESSED DOUBT, HOWEVER, THE WEST COULD UNITE ON THIS QUESTION, WHICH LED HIM TO REFER CONTEMPTUOUSLY TO THE EC-9 AS A "MINI-UN"--POWERLESS TO ACT DECISIVELY AND INCAPABLE OF AGREEING ON ANYTHING OF SUBSTANCE. HE SAID THE PROBLEM LIES CHIEFLY WITH THE FRENCH WHO ARE WORRIED THAT GERMANY IS PREEMPTING FRANCE'S SELF-DESIGNATED LEADERSHIP ROLE IN EUROPE AND IS WEAKENING FRANCE'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION THANKS TO THE SUCCESS OF ITS OSPOLITIK. HE SAID HE FOUND IT INCREDIBLE THAT AS REALISTIC A COUNTRY AS FRANCE SHOULD PURSUE SO UNREALISTIC A POLICY AS FOLLOWING THE GUALLIST THEORY OF UNITING A EUROPE SEPARATE FROM THE UNITED STATES.

4. KREISKY SAID THAT FRANCE WAS TRYING TO "REVIVE A SORT OF SMALL ENTENTE CORDIALE" WITH THE BRITISH TO OFFSET THE GROWING GERMAN INFLUENCE. HE SAID THE IDEA "IS RECEIVING SOME SUPPORT IN CONSERVATIVE CIRCLES BUT IS OPPOSED BY THE DOMINANT FACTION OF THE LABOR PARTY WHICH IS NOT IN FAVOR OF A UNITED EUROPE BECAUSE IT DOES NOT WANT TO LOSE ITS UNITED STATES CONNECTION." AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE ASKED HIM IF HE HAD TALKED WITH HAROLD WILSON
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AND HE SAID NO, BUT HE HAD TALKED WITH DENNIS HEALEY.

5. THE AMBASSADOR TOOK THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE U.S. INTEREST IN A UNITED WESTERN ALLIANCE AND OUR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE REACTIONS OF SOME EUROPEANS DURING THE OCTOBER EVENTS. HE OUTLINED OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY AND THE PROCEDURES WE HOPED WOULD LEAD TO EVENTUAL PEACE IN THE AREA. THE AMBASSADOR MADE A PARTICULAR POINT OF SAYING THAT THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WERE SO IN-

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TRICATE AND DELICATE THAT THE MOST HELPFUL THING EUROPEANS COULD DO NOW WAS TO DO NOTHING. "ANY DECLARATIONS ON THE SUBJECT COULD ONLY HINDER RATHER THAN FURTHER THE CAUSE TO WHICH WE WERE ALL SO BOUND." HE EMPHASIZED THAT WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS DISCREET DIPLOMACY RATHER THAN PUBLIC COMMENT AND ENDED THIS PART OF THE DISCUSSION BY SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH EUROPE WILL NOT BE REPRESENTED AT GENEVA ON DECEMBER 21, WE WERE HOPEFUL THAT, ONCE A SETTLEMENT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED, EUROPE WOULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY.

6. KREISKY AGREED WITH THE AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS ON "EUROPEAN IRRESPONSIBILITY" DURING THE RECENT MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE DID NOT HAVE HIGH HOPES FOR THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE BECAUSE "IS WAS TOO LARGE." IT WAS ENCOURAGING, HOWEVER, HE ADDED, THAT THE RADICAL ARAB LEADERS, PARTICULARLY QUADDAFI, WERE NOT THERE. HE ALSO HOPED THAT EUROPE WOULD GET INVOLVED AT SOME STAGE BECAUSE OF EUROPE'S TRADITIONAL TIES WITH THE AREA. HE FORESAW DIFFICULTIES ON THAT SCORE, HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE ATTITUDES OF THE FORMER COLONIALIST POWERS, FRANCE AND BRITAIN.

7. TURNING TO ISRAEL ITSELF, KREISKY SAID THAT THERE WAS A "GOTTERDAMERUNG STIMMUNG" IN THE COUNTRY WHICH IS TO A LARGE EXTENT FOSTERED BY GOLDA MEIR. HE SAID THE JEWS HAVE LIVED AND DIED IN GHETTOS FOR CENTURIES AND THE GHETTO MENTALITY IS STILL WITH THEM IN ISRAEL. KREISKY BELIEVES THAT ISRAEL IS NOT YET A NATION STATE. "THE HUMAN MELTING POT WHICH HAS BEEN SO SUCCESSFUL IN THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT AS YET HAD A CHANCE TO WORK ITSELF OUT IN ISRAEL AND THE ONLY THING WHICH UNITES THE ISRAELIS IS RELIGION."

8. KREISKY SAID HE WAS OPTIMISTIC IN THE LONG RUN AND NOT DISCOURAGED BY THE REFUSAL OF ONE SIDE TO TALK WITH THE OTHER. THERE WAS HOPE, HE SAID, EVEN FOR ARAFAT. HE CITED THE EXAMPLE OF KENYATTA WHO HAD LED THE MAU MAU UPRISING IN KENYA, BEEN JAILED BY CONFIDENTIAL

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THE BRITISH AND NOW WAS THE RESPECTED LEADER OF HIS COUNTRY WITH CLOSE TIES WITH BRITAIN. DE VALERA WAS ANOTHER EXAMPLE ALONG SIMILAR LINES. "IT IS A QUESTION OF BEING PATIENT AND TIME WOULD MELLOW THE EMOTIONS."

9. ON THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES KREISKY SAW THEM DEVELOPING IN SEVERAL STAGES. FIRST STAGE--DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES; SECOND STAGE -- THE SHARM EL SHEIK QUESTION, REGARDING WHICH HE SUGGESTED THAT A 99-YEAR LEASE MIGHT BE THE SOLUTION. THIRD STAGE--FURTHER ISRAELI

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TRSE-00 LAB-06 SIL-01 OMB-01 AF-10 SR-02 ORM-03 SAB-01

DRC-01 EURE-00 /182 W
---------- 069031
O R 211044Z DEC 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1066 IMMEDIATE
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INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 10488

GENEVA FOR MR. BASSIN

WITHDRAWALS IN THE SINAI PENINSULAR CREATING DEMILITARIZED ZONES
WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. KREISKY SAID THAT A
DEMILITARIZED ZONE WOULD REQUIRE A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE OF
50,000 MEN WHICH COULDGURHRSTANTIALLY REDUCED IF LARGE NUMBERS
OF HELICOPTERS WERE MADE AVAILABLE.

10. KREISKY WAS CATEGORIC IN STATING THAT NO PEACE-KEEPING FORCE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST COULD BE EFFECTIVE WITHOUT U.S. AND SOVIET
TROOPS. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THESE NEED ONLY BE SYMBOLIC--
ABOUT ONE THOUSAND MEN EACH. "AFTER ALL," HE SAID, "IT IS CLEAR
THAT THE FIRST TEN AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO BE KILLED IN BERLIN
WOULD TRIGGER A WAR."
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11. ON THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM KREISKY BELIEVED THAT AN ARRANGEMENT SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE VATICAN SHOULD WORK. HE SAID THE STATUS OF THE VATICAN HAD TAKEN YEARS TO WORK OUT AND IF IT IS SATISFACTORY TO 600 MILLION CATHOLICS, A SIMILAR STATUS FOR JERUSALEM SHOULD BE SATISFACTORY TO ONE HUNDRED MILLION ARABS.

12. KREISKY CONCLUDED WITH HIS VIEW OF THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. HE SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD A VERY STRONG BARGAINING POINT IN HAVING ASSIMILATED 600,000 JEWS FROM ARAB COUNTRIES, A FIGURE WHICH SHOULD BE DEDUCTED FROM THE MILLION REFUGEES UNDER DISCUSSION. OF THE REMAINING 400,000, KREISKY BELIEVES ISRAEL CAN ASSIMILATE ABOUT 50,000. THE OTHER 350,000 WOULD HAVE TO BE RESETTLED IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES UNDER A MASSIVE, INTERNATIONALLY ADMINISTERED, RESETTLING PROGRAM. HE ESTIMATED THE COST AT DOLS 5.000 A HEAD FOR A TOTAL OF ABOUT FOUR OR FIVE BILLION DOLLARS OVER A PERIOD OF 4 OR 5 YEARS.

13. BEFORE TAKING HIS LEAVE, THE AMBASSADOR REITERATED HIS CONCERN FOR THE NEED FOR DISCRETION ON THE PART OF EUROPEANS DURING THE DIFFICULT PERIOD AHEAD.HOWINCKEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 DEC 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA10488
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973129/aaaaaggu.tel
Line Count: 245
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02-Aug-2001 by willialc>; APPROVED <24-Oct-2001 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KRIESKY CRITICISM OF EC-9 POSTURE AND THOUGHTS ON MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM
TAGS: OCON, PFOR
To: STATE GENEVA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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